

A  
S P E C I M E N  
O F T H E  
**State of the Nation.**

Humbly Represented

To both Houses of Parliament.

**I**N a calm Sea, when gentle Wind and Tide set to the Port, a Pilot of meaner skill may steer the Vessel: But when the labouring tempestuous Seas boil high, so that Mountains of Waves, rushing with mighty force, at every Minute threaten its over-setting, and violent Tornadoes render it almost impossible to avoid the Rocks, and a pitchy Darknesh leaves no marks in the Heavens to use the Astrolabe; then, then it is that the utmost skill of the Steers-man is required: But when to all these threatening Disasters from without, the whole Ship's Crew are in a Tumult, pressing with eagerness and highest concern their opposite Sentiments, for their preservation; so that in this Confusion, every Hand working against other, hastens the ruine: The first great Work is to correct these Disorders and work them to the entire guidance of the most Judicious and Skillful. This is the Condition of our Great *Britannia*; there is neither need of Allegory or Rhetorick to evince the Truth of it, the whole trembling Island stands agast, too late sensible of the conduct of those who have brought us to this Danger, and take no care to retrieve us.

But its no time to pursue Allusions; I shall therefore, with all humble Modesty, apply my self to you most Noble Patriots, and as a dutiful Remembrancer offer to your consideration such matters as the Kingdom craves redress of; and for Methods sake, shall range them under such Heads as properly appertain to the due Qualifications of Persons of your Figure.

*First*, It is requisite that you perfectly know, and strenuously assert, the Fundamental Laws of the Subjects Liberties and Properties, lest these be subverted directly.

or in the remotest Consequences: Upon enquiry you will find that some of these, concerning the Liberty of our Persons, have been violated by direct Arbitrariness; others by the cunning taking advantages of defects, or ambiguities in the Law, relating to them: You know what Industry was used under King *Charles* the First, to obtain the second Grand Charter of our Liberties, the Petition of Right, and the Laws concerning Illegal Confinements and Imprisonments: And how far the *Habeas Corpus* Act was enlarged for the Subjects benefit under King *Charles* the Second: The suspending that Act, though now not to be disputed, will ever be complained of as the greatest Precedent of Parliamentary compliance with pretended *Necessity of State*, that ever we read of; especially when we now find that no one of those, who were denied the benefit of the Act, upon that superceding, were brought to any Legal Tryal. But surely it behoves the House of Peers to stop all Proceedings, till they have had Justice for the Imprisonment of those Noble Peers, sitting Members of their House, who had taken the Oaths, and were conformable to the Government, upon bare Suspicion, or Suggestion, without information upon Oath; and one, at least, there detained beyond the first Term, and upon direction from the Government not admitted to Bail: The like, or worse, proceeding against other Noblemen and Commoners hath been as obvious. It will therefore be an Act worthy your Station to consider the defects of that Act; and provide, by positive Law, that no Person be confined or imprisoned, but upon information upon Oath, nor any delay made in the granting the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus*; but where the Informer is not only bound over to prosecute, but the Witnesses also to make good the Information, under the severest Penalties, even by a Law suitable to that of *Lex Talionis*; if this be not done, there are none of your selves can be secure, if a Minister of State have a Pique at you.

After your Vote and Address, it hath been thought strange that *Fuller* hath thus long escaped a Prosecution, which now had not been designed, if some Person of a considerable Figure had not been over-ruled. And it is too well known what Argument the Fore-man of the Grand Jury used to have evaded the finding the Bill against *Young*; because, forsooth, it was not convenient to discourage the King's Evidence, though he be a Person who hath been Pilloried for Forgery heretofore; and his Forgery of the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Hand was owned by *Blacket* his Partner: And the attempt to have brought even *Fuller* into credit, may be a good ground to animadvert on those forward Ministers of State, for committing Persons of Quality and Interest upon such groundless suggestions, which render it very suspicious, that they keep such Blood-hounds to be ready on all occasions, in constant pay, to serve a State Intrigue. As therefore you have regard to the Freemen of *England*; yea, to your selves, and yours and our Posterities, let it be known whether we be Slaves or Freemen.

*Confinements and Imprisonments our Lawyers stile a Civil Death*; and if you will look into our Prisons, you will find, impounded, trespassing Cattle infinitely better provided for, than the poorer Natives or Strangers, who are Prisoners of State, to the shame of our Country and Christianity. As it is therefore incumbent on you to secure the Innocent from this; so much more is it necessary to be secured from being deprived of their Natural Lives, by such kind, of Tryals, as have been used in late years; that of *Mr. Ashton's* every day, appears more gashly: But I shall not meddle with such matters. There is one thing seems very defective in those kind of Proceedings, That a Man hath not the like advantages to defend his Life, as to defend his Right to an Acre of Land. In the last Session you had made good Progress in a Bill for Tryal of Treasons; 'tis hoped you will resume the Debate, and will find out the Arts were used to obstruct so useful a Bill, so much desired by all sorts of Persons, who a

not Designers of Arbitrary Rule, or like one of our foreign Commanders, who declared, *That England is not to be govern'd, unless the Prince be absolute.*

A second Qualification requisite, is a *stanch Probity*, lest you should be tempted by Honours, Places of Profit, or Pensions, to betray your Trusts, and sacrifice for such personal Advantages, the Religion, Liberties, and Properties of your Fellow-Subjects to Arbitrariness and Oppression. You cannot forget what loud Clamours have been heretofore raised against Pensionary Parliaments. If ever you hope or intend to make us happy, you will not only spue such out, and set Marks of Infamy upon them, but fire them severely. The way to find these out, is to make a strict Enquiry into the disposal of the Money for secret Service; there you will discover the number of those Leeches which are fed by the Blood of the Countrey: We have had Tests and Oaths to secure our Religion and Fidelity, it will be every whit as necessary to contrive a Schiboleth to discriminate these sorts of Mercenary Members from true Patriots. You have reason to suspect all those who are Office or Officer Members, or that aspire to be such; all those who have Places of Profit in the Court, or relating to the Revenue or Judicature, and are removeable at pleasure; especially such as without Hesitation concur with such File-Leaders in their Votes, as are known to be the Creatures of some Publick Ministers, or are the forwardest or liberalest in giving away the Countrey Money; for they are assured to have their Salleries increased according to their Zeal in Voting Supplies.

This Probity is not only exclusive of all corruption in your selves, but it will oblige you severely to punish all sorts of Falshood and Injustice in all Ministers and Officers of State, and Courts of Judicature, and Inferior Ministers Administrations; especially those pestilent Vermine, Informers, betwixt whom, and the overgrown number of more barbarous Messengers, the suborning Trade is managed, and many peaceable, well disposed, innocent Men are crucified: Of which I have touched before.

The *Third Charactersick* of a sound Member, is to be arm'd with an undaunted and steel'd, Courage, to prosecute with Vigour what their mature Judgments suggest as fittest to be establish'd.

The Privilege of Parliaments, Custom, and Usage, secure all Members from any Censure, in the free delivery of their Opinions, but by their respective Houses: So that whoever is so afraid to displease any great Man, as he thereupon declines the delivering his Upright Judgment, is of too low a Spirit to represent a Free-born People, and ought to be looked on as a fit Member of such Parliaments only, as are Ministers of Slavery, as some Modern Princes have wrought them to be, as the *Romans* did their subdued Kings. While you exert the Old *English* Spirit of Parliaments, you need not fear *Oliverian* Dragooning, Prorogations, or Dissolvings; And you will be so much more valued by your Countrey, as you are more bold and courageous for their Service. Cowardice is as severely punished as Treachery, in an Army which is raised for our Defence. You are the Defenders of our Civil Rights: You ought therefore to be as much concerned in Honour and Interest courageously to maintain our Rights, as the Military Men are to defend the Field, or our Forts.

*Fourthly*, Not only Solidity of Judgment is required to penetrate into the depths of Matters propos'd, but also quickness of Apprehension, and exquisite Circumspections to avoid the over reachings of designing Demagogues. For want of this Qualification, all the Miseries of the last Civil War, and many other Mischievous Calamities have befallen these Nations in former times.

If Members of Parliament steadily observed this Rule, they would not so often *jarare in verba Magistrum*, Implicitly vote with their seditious Conductors, and in Clubs and Cabals concert those Matters, which should be freely debated in the Houses.

You must be presumed to be well versed in Histories; especially in those of our own Country, and in the Rolls and Journals of our Parliament. By these you will be instructed, how to avoid the Rocks and Quick-sands, upon which your Predecessors have at any time been bouldged, and know which Resolutions have been most beneficial to the Publick Weal, and which have had fatal Consequences: But if Foreign Revolutions, or the Calamity of older Ages, affect you not; yet if you will with Impartiality and Solidity of Thought, weigh the Spring and Rise, Issue and Event of those astonishing Devastations and Miseries the Kingdom suffered, from the Year 1637. to 1661. you would abhor the Principles as well as Practices of those Authors, Abettors, and Fomentors of those devouring Mischiefs then brought upon us: And easily find, that thereby were advanced the pestilent Subvertors of the Constitution of our Government, who after the Revolution of a few Years, were stigmatiz'd as the boldest Invaders of the Liberties and Properties of their Fellow-Subjects, and the most Villanous Exercisers of Arbitrariness and Tyranny.

From which Consideration, Not only Parliament-Men, but all who bear any Figure in the Kingdom, should learn so to act and deport themselves, as they may be secure, that Posterity pass not any such Censures upon them: And have that memorable Sentence of the Judicious Tacitus always in their Thoughts, *Invidenda est illorum fœcordia qui presentis potentia credunt se extingui posse sequentis Aevi Memoriam*, There sloath ought so be envied, who believe by their present Power they can extinguish the Memory of the next Age.

But however requisite the foregoing Qualifications are; yet there are those remaining, without which our Country would be little better by the preceding. Of which the Fifth may be a publick Spiritedness to endeavour the redress of Grievances and Oppressions of the Subject. This is a Theme might be greatly enlarged upon; but in an Address to Persons of your Condition, it is unnecessary to dilate. A short hint of some of the most important Matters will suffice.

We are now engag'd in a War, which hath been very expensive and destructive of such brave Men, as might have been an Ornament as well as Defence to our Country, I shall not enquire into the Grounds or Progress of it, that is your Province; but without Offence I may note, that although the Power of making War or Peace, is one of the topmost Prerogatives of the Crown; yet the best of our Kings have consulted their Parliaments in those Matters, not only for Supplies, but also in point of Advice. And when some Kings have been violently bent to pursue them, when the Houses found them damageable to the Countrey, they contrived Expedients to put a period to them. However it hath been their constant Care lest our Kings upon any occasion or pretence of War, should oppress the Countrey, violate the Laws of Peace, or over-awe the Houses, to grant any thing that might enslave them or the Nation. All preceding Parliaments have had a special regard not to burthen the Free-born People of England; and whenever they found a necessity of imposing them, they took care they should be employed solely to the Uses for which they were given; and they never gave Money, but they obtain'd some beneficial Laws as Equivalents, to balance the present diminution of the Subjects Estates by such Payments. You cannot but be very sensible that since the Revolution Twenty Millions have been spunged from the Subjects, which is more than any three of our longest lived Kings have had in their whole Reigns.

How this Money hath been expended, your Principals expect you will exact a strict Account of: You too well know what Arts have been used to obstruct it: You know what unjustifiable Accounts were exhibited the last Year to your Commissioners; and who they were that advised you not to lose your precious time in a Retrospection  
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and too rigid a Scrutiny, promising there should be the utmost Care taken in the Application of what you then should give. Yet you cannot forget how you had like to have been over reach'd in your Bill for constituting Commissioners to take Accounts. And as soon as you had perfected your Money Bills, you were not permitted to perfect the most Necessary Bill, to prevent the palpable Frauds in the former Accounts, by providing that the Soldiers should be only paid according to true Musters of effective Men. You have great reason to enquire who they were that precipitated the Prorogation, so that when that Bill was within an hour of perfecting, that time was not allowed. This the Country interprets a Demonstration that no just Account is intended; and that there is no further use for you, but only to give Money, and secure the governing Ministers. It is hoped therefore, that according to the usage of former Parliaments, you will begin with redress of Grievances, and calling to an Account the Administrators of Affairs; otherwise, whatever you give will be swallowed up in the Gulph in which all the rest hath been sunk. And if you postpone what should be redressed, such Bills will suffer an Abortion; for it is manifest there are some who aim at nothing but the Countreys being delivered of their Money.

*'Tis not to be doubted, but since your Recess you have heard its Groans, and are made sensible of the Throws, and its difficult labour to bring forth the Trimestrial Issue of Polls, Taxes, and the new methods of maintaining the Militia, after the Month's pay expired, and that unsupportable burthen of quartering of Soldiers. Yet notwithstanding the canonizing such unreasonable Portions out of their Rents and Personal Estates, the Burthen would be more supportable if the Trade of the Nation were not so miserably sunk, so that foreign Commodities are thirty or forty per Cent. dearer, and home ones as much cheaper than formerly; and you will hear from our Merchants the loss of above 2000 Ships, and the Cargo worth Ten Million taken from them by the French since the Revolution: So that they seem manifestly to be doomed to the Egyptian Bondage of making Brick without Scrubble or Straw. Whether you will take these things into consideration, is like to be left to your care of, and compassion for these infinite numbers, who have intrusted you that the Common Wealth take no detriment.*

*But this is not all, though you have strained thus to the utmost to provide sufficiently for the Support of the Government, and the Soldiery; yet I believe it will be thundered into your Ears, what vast Arrears are owing to our Fleet and Army: For those who are best paid, except Foreigners, have only bare Subsistence money; which at home makes them so oppressive in stealing and robbing, and abroad (where they are so barbarously treated by those whose Quarrel they are Fighting) that they are exposed to Famishing and Diseases, both of Men and Horses. I personally know some who have served in Ireland three Years, and been put upon the backwardest Service, who have but received 30 s. in pay all the time; and some Officers have a slight of hand to pick a Quarrel with such as have long Arrears depending, and to dismiss them for new Comers. What Comfort can above 10000 Seamen have by the late Proclamation, who used to be paid off at this Season, whereby they provided for their Families, which now must be in a starving condition this Winter: This is not only like to be so fatal to them, but to many thousands who have furnished their Wives and Families on Trust. Some who pretend to know best, give out, that four Millions will not discharge the Debt, and six Millions more will scarce provide a Fund for this Year's growing Charge, and as much yearly for three Years more, if we expect to obtain our Terms from France. You have all the reason therefore to take a true Calculation of this Charge, and make a most strict Retrospection, whether the Money*



they already given hath been truly expended to the Uses appropriated, and what proportion hath been transmitted to the Confederates, and what is masked with the disguise of Secret Service.

Hence you will easily find how much it will concern you in Wisdom, as well as the Sincerity of an English Parliament, to probe this Matter to the bottom, and exact an Account, not only upon Oath, but with penal Obligation, what Sums from time to time have been expended, together with a true duplicate of the number and quality of the Troops, and the Sums of Money, every Kingdom and Principality of that Union hath born, otherwise it will be impossible to know what proportion we bear, and upon what Obligation.

It will be no ill-spent time to be informed how our Arms, Magazines, and Ammunition, as well as Naval Stores, so plentifully provided by the late King, are now totally exhausted, and consumed, without recruiting; why so many Trains of Artillery have been transported, that there is scarce a good one left in the Kingdom for its defence: So that even from Tilbury-Fort, and the Platforms, seven whole Cannon, eighteen Brass Demi-Cannon, and twenty six whole Culverin have been transported in Dutch and Flemish Hogs. As to the transporting of such great Plenty of our Corn, Beeves, Hay, and Coals, it were not to be quarrelled at, if we had our former Plenty, either of those Commodities, or Money; provided our own Vessels and Seamen were employed; but they are destined for other Uses; and we find in this City, how much the rates of those Necessaries are enhanced by it, at a time when a full plenty of them would enable us better to pay our Taxes. But it is not these alone, but our Money is transported in Specie, in 200 Chests at a time, and betwixt 20 and 30000 l. a Month, yea, sometimes a Week, either in Specie, or in Bullion, which is most what our Plate and Mill'd Money melted down; and when our Money comes into Holland 10 d. for a Shilling, and 18 a Guinea, is all will be allowed: And a great part of the many Millions given, have gone to pay the Confederate Troops, and build Forts in other Princes Territories, while our Nation lies open and exposed; and so much the more if we consider, that these Kingdoms have lost 200000 Military Men in 4 years, and spent 30 Millions of our Money; these are such impairments of our Strength, as will require Ages to recruit, and would be much quieter born, if they were not vastly encreased by mismanagement; for it is apparent, that every Farthing-worth of Commodity provided, costs 2 d. and it may be is valued to you at as much more.

Besides all this, we have reason to complain, how the English Liberty is invaded, in forcing our Men out of the Kingdom, and pressing them under the colour of Sea-service, to send them into Foreign Countries to fight at Land-Sea, farther, they are dishhearted duly, seeing Foreigners duly paid, whilst they are let run into so great Arrears, and their Wives and Children starving; as if some Men had so little regard to our Country, that they can unconcernedly see us robbed of our Coin, famished for want of the necessities of Life, and being thus stripp'd, the very Defence of the Kingdom openly transported.

These things, most Noble Senators, cannot but rouse your Thoughts, to consider, and provoke you to search how many of our Laws are hereby trampled on, and despised; And you will think it necessary to take the State of the Nation into consideration, and give encouragement, yea commendation to all who find themselves aggrieved, to lay them before you; and especially enjoin all those to whom the Government is indebted, to bring before you their demands, and then you will find what unreasonable Sums are owing to the Army, and the Navy, to the Victuallers, Providers of Stores, to Artificers, Gun Founders, Armorers, Powder and Shot makers, for cloathing the Soldiers, Tran port-Ships, &c. and above all to the poor Country for their

their Losses and Charges in Quarterings. I cannot in so small a Paper descend to the particular Head-branches of Grievances, which deserve your serious reflections; but doubt not but you will be thoroughly informed of them, if you afford encouragement; or however, you being your selves no Strangers to them, will judge it a Duty you owe to your Country to endeavour to redress them.

I dare not entertain a thought, but that you will countenance and encourage, whatever may effectually conduce to the Peace of *Europe*, and our own Prosperity and Safety; for the obtaining of which so much Blood and Treasure hath been exhausted: But it will require your most piercing Judgments, to discover whether the Instruments employed, rightly pursue the same. It will be granted, that in our Circumstances it is requisite we should be a Buttress to the *Netherlands*, and they a Barrier to us; but it is not necessary that we should so much exceed our *Quota* of former establishments, nor be the only Sufferers in our Trade for want of Convoys; they are a People who have the skill to live and thrive by War; we want that Art: It is your parts therefore to enquire, whether there be not a Wheel within a Wheel. The sincerity of such as rule in the conjunct Councils, for concerting these and other matters of joyn't Aid, ought to be examined, whether they are stanch to the *English* Interest. We want not Presidents, how the brave Lord *Pitt*, and others, acted under the late King *James*, who most skilfully blinded that King, as if the utmost of their endeavours were to promote his Interest; yet, with a singular subtilty, they decoyed him into the Net: You have reason therefore to enquire, with more than ordinary diligence, *For what end so many of those courageous Persons, who stemm'd the Tide, and for the sake of our Religion and Laws were the ablest Promoters of the Revolution, are now laid aside and slighted, and another sort of Men employed in the weightiest Affairs.* My Lord Churchill, Admiral Herbert, and twenty more, besides some of an higher Quality, are Instances of hard Usage in these particulars. And it is to be wished, that those who make shew of being usefuller Instruments, and bear themselves high upon advancing the Prerogative, and other points of Rule, according to Foreign Precedents, or plausible Exigents of State, be found at the Core; for they contrive some things which are not very grateful, nor agreeable to the expectations of the People: It is vehemently to be suspected that some had a design by the Revolution, rather to remove Men than Grievances; and are indifferent, whether the *English*, or the Allies Interest, be more promoted, so as they may enjoy the Honour or Profit of their places.

It will therefore be worth your most diligent Enquiry, *Whether your profuse Supplies, hitherto, have not poured Oyl into the Fire; and who have been warmed, and who consumed to Ashes by the Conflagration.* I would not be thought to be one who discountenanced a necessary War: But it is as necessary, that in your great Zeal, you be not imposed upon by those who make a Trade of it; especially by such as are not Natives; and, though Confederate, yet with more passion study to promote their own Interest, than that of the *British* Dominions.

Our Countrymen, who have so freely engaged in this Quarrel, might reasonably have expected to have ascended to the Military Honours and Commands, due, by the Laws of Arms, over our own Troops, and not to have been topp'd by Strangers, or have been so partially dealt with, as to have been exposed to the Onsets in the most dangerous of Attacks; yea, such as afforded no probable aspect of success; while other Confederate Troops were to be Spectators only, and not appointed to sustain them. A memorable Instance of this we had in the late Battle at *Szenykirck*, where we lost the Flower of our *British* Forces; and when Count *Salmes*, who now hath the Chief Command of the Army you pay, being, by repeated Messages, importuned to speed Succours to them, refused it, with a *Damn them, these English think they can conquer*.

quer the World, let them go on and see what they can do; and so suffered these brave Men to be hack'd to pieces, when the seconding them with fresh Supplies might probably have forced Victory: Such Actions as these cannot be obliging to our Nation, especially when seconded by the Prints, immediately after expos'd in *Holland*, of an *English* man, pictur'd with the Claws of a Lyon, and a witless Calves Head and Face.

However necessary therefore it may be, that we endeavour a Coalition of Interests with the States, and own the Truth of their Ancient Emblem of two Stone Juggs link'd and floating on the Sea, with the Motto, *Si Collidimus Frangimur*, *If we clash we break*: Yet it is very agreeable to your Trust, that you provide that we have fair Quarter at least for our Assistance.

But I pass this with as light a Touch as I can; and shall in the next place offer to your grave considerations the through examination of a Miscarriage at home. *Nothing did more enliven us, after the damp upon our Spirits for the loss of Namur, than the expectation we had of the Success of the Descent; when you have enquired into the vast charge, in providing for it, the Train of Artillery, and all other Necessaries, you will conclude such an Enterprize was not undertaken without deliberate Advice; this being premised, your Thoughts will naturally fall upon the enquiry, by what treachery or neglect, a Design, upon which the Eyes of Europe were so fixed, should have so unexpected and inglorious an Issue; the disreputation it hath brought on the Conduct, the loss to the publick, and the unexpressible dis-appointment of a matter of that importance, cannot but extort punishment from you equal to the merits of the Criminals. I now humbly beg, most Noble Patriots, that you will look upon this as a most dutiful Address, from one who as passionately wisheth the Prosperity of these Kingdoms, and the Good of the Common-weal, as any Subject whatever; and from whom it is extorted upon the most serious reflection, on the languishing Condition of our Native Country; she is at the point of swooning, by the exhausting of so much of her Vital Blood in Taxes and Impositions, and the loss of so many of her Children; and if you give way to the Grand Project of the General Excise, this will open a fresh all the Veins at once, and cut the Throat of the Disease of Plenty and Riches, some too enviously judge us some years since to have laboured under.*

It is to be hoped your Wisdom and Knowledge sets you above the reach of Triers of Experiments, of transfusing other Nation's Blood into our emptied Veins, from whence we can but expect to receive Juices of Turneps, Cabbage, and Pot-herbs, in room of the Racy Blood we have parted with.

For a just Man some will dare to die; but I fear if you narrowly examine for whose sakes, a id for what number of Men, all these Tragical losses of our Men, Money, and Trade have been occasioned, you will find them little better in their Morals, or in their Designs of Publick Good, than their Predecessors: And you will seriously consider whether the supporting of them in the Methods they have pursued, or the putting things upon a surer Foot, will conduce more for the Prosperity of these Kingdoms.

Consider that the Happiness of the Free-born Men of England, who have intrusted you, yet your own, and your Posterities Interests are at stake. If you could each of you hope to get 10 or 20000 l. Gift out of the Exchequer, or Places of greatest Emolument, by concurring with the present Ministry, who have at such rates made their Fortunes, should such Advantages, put in the Ballance with the Destruction of your Country over poize with you? I humbly lay these things before you, most honourable Patriots, hoping you will revolve them in your Minds, and eternize your Memories in securing our Religion and Laws, and freeing us from an endless War, and unsupportable oppression by it.